FRAGMENT

OF A

PROPHESY

LATELY DISCOVERED IN THE CELL

OF A

FRENCH HERMIT;

CONTAINING

DIVERS MATTERS RELATING TO THE PRESENT DISTURBANCES IN EUROPE.

Faithfully Tranſlated from the Original,

By a CONVERT

FROM THE

"SOCIETY FOR REVOLUTIONS."

Il y a des erreurs qu'il faut réfuter ſérieuſement, des abſurdités dont il faut rire, et des fauſſetés qu'il faut repouſſer avec force.

VOLTAIRE.

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To the Reader.

THE following *Fragment* is ſaid to have been found, not long ſince, in the Cell of a celebrated Anchoret, in Upper Dauphiny. Upon the "caſhiering" of the Biſhop of a neighbouring city for "miſconduct," becauſe he had refuſed to take the patriotic oath—being terrified at the unexpected crowing of a cock*; the populace, who had long entertained a high opinion of the Hermit's ſanctity, flocked in crowds to his place of reſidence, with a view to *ſwear him in* to be their new paſtor. But, upon entering into his lonely grot, they found the venerable Solitary ſtretched lifeleſs on the ground, with a ſcroll of paper ſtrongly graſped in his hand. The people inſiſted upon its being publicly read; not doubting in the leaſt of its containing the laſt will and teſtament of the good old Anchoret. But no ſooner had they heard its contents, than their former reſpect and admiration were changed into reſentment and rage. This ſudden

* See the Notes at the concluſion of the piece.

change

change was attributed to the whiſpers of ſome of their new adviſers and political *catechiſts*, who aſſured them that, notwithſtanding his apparent piety and virtue, he muſt certainly have been in his heart "an high-flying Ariſtocrate"—which was interpreted to be in *modern* language, equivalent to *Knave*, *Tyrant*, *Hypocrite*, and *Fool*. No ſooner was this *decided*, than they offered every poſſible inſult to his memory: and, upon a ſuggeſtion that all eccleſiaſtics were of the ſame race, they unanimouſly voted, on their return to the city, that their whole *property* ſhould be confiſcated for the public good—that they ſhould thenceforth receive only ſuch *wages* from the State, as ſhould expoſe them to contempt, and degrade them from the rank of *gentlemen*—and that before they ſhould be entitled even to this *pittance*, they ſhould be thoroughly examined by the *people*, upon three ſucceſſive market-days, on every point relating to morals, religion, and government.

From the appearance of the manuſcript when it fell into the Tranſlator's hands, as well as from the abrupt manner in which it begins and ends, it is evident that there was much more of it originally than the *Ariſtocrate*, by whoſe means it was preſerved, was able to reſcue from the indignant Revolutioniſts. The ſtile is certainly incorrect; and

and many paſſages appear to have little connection with thoſe that immediately precede or follow: But theſe ſudden tranſitions from one idea, and even from one country to another, are by no means unuſual in the prophetic ſtyle, whether real or aſſumed. This mode of writing may poſſibly not meet with general approbation, nor has it entirely even that of the Tranſlator himſelf. But it is for the verſion only that he holds himſelf accountable; and this will, he apprehends, be found accurate and faithful, as far as the difference of idioms will admit. He has neither preſumed to fill up the *lacunæ* that deſign or accident had left in the original copy; nor does he mean to hazard any opinion concerning its *inſpiration*: but, at any rate, the venerable Hermit, though ſequeſtered from the world, ſeems by no means to have been inattentive to what was paſſing in it.

The *Editor* has thought proper to add ſeveral remarks of his own, by way of notes. Theſe illuſtrations he will not pretend to aſſert are preciſely what the writer had in view; and they may in fact be but little more than mere conjecture. But as many of them ſeem naturally to apply to the correſponding parts of the text, he has been perſuaded to ſubmit them, ſuch as they are, to the judgement of the candid reader; leaving it to future Editors of greater information

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to improve upon the imperfect hints which he has presumed to offer, and to point out with more exactness the real import of these predictions.

FRAGMENT,

FRAGMENT, &c.

ART. 120. . . . . in which all ſorts of crimes are jumbled together with every ſort of folly *.

121. And it ſhall alſo come to paſs that there ſhall riſe up a generation of men *deſpiſing Government*, and *ſpeaking evil of dignities* *: and yet they ſhall *court* honours and dignities, and they ſhall add *titles* to their names that they may be reſpected †.

122. And they ſhall ſeek to be the *leaders* of parties, and they ſhall *lead* them to *confuſion* and miſerable will thoſe be who ſhall follow the direction of ſuch deceitful guides *.

123. And they ſhall form *ſocieties*, to deſtroy the principles upon which all *ſociety* is eſtabliſhed *: and they ſhall call themſelves *good ſubjects*, and they ſhall teach all *good ſubjects* to *rebel* †.

124. And they ſhall appoint meetings in *taverns*, and in *groves*, and in the *high places*, to debate upon *religion* and upon *government*: and they ſhall vote *reſolutions*, and they ſhall circulate *ſentiments*

ments which tend to the ſubverſion of all *religion* and all *government* *.

125. And they ſhall ſpeak in praiſe of *order*; and they ſhall encourage *tumult*: and they ſhall *blame* national diſſentions; and they ſhall *foment* national diſſentions, and they ſhall get their bread by them *.

126. And they ſhall create a new language amongſt themſelves, which others ſhall not comprehend; and the words *Patriotiſm*, and *Liberty*, and *Freedom*, ſhall not have their accuſtomed meaning; and they ſhall mean *any thing*, or *nothing*, "or the rider, or the horſe *."

127. And they ſhall demonſtrate that a *maſter* is a *ſervant*; and they ſhall teach *ſervants* to uſurp the authority of *maſters*: and *ſervants* ſhall look down upon the title of *maſter*, and ſhall pronounce it to be full as unmeaning as that of *King*, or *Lord*, or *Duke* *.

128. And they ſhall ſpeak loudly concerning *rights*, that they may do *wrong* with impunity: and they ſhall endeavour to confound every idea both of *right* and *wrong* *.

129. And they ſhall *grant* unto nations the *right* of choice; and then they ſhall *abuſe* them for the *choice* that they have made *.

130. And they ſhall teach the people that they have a *right* to be miſerable: and they ſhall engage them to ſquabble in defence of this *ſacred right* *.

131. And

131. And they ſhall tell them that civil *diſtinctions* are created for the public good; and that there ought to be no *diſtinctions* in ſociety, becauſe theſe would cauſe an *inequality* amongſt men; and therefore that it is *unjuſt* to ſeek the *public good* *.

132. And they ſhall aſſert, that when men *give* up their *rights*, they ſtill *retain* them; and that by the very act of *ſettling* a form of government they *acquire* a right to *ſubvert* it *.

133. And they ſhall maintain that *power* is *right*, and that *right* is *power*; and that all have equally a *right* to *power*: and the vulgar ſhall ſtand amazed at the profundity of their reaſonings *.

134. And they ſhall admit that *ſociety* is a *compact*, and that a compact is a *ſacred thing*; and yet they ſhall inſiſt that either party may *diſſolve* it at pleaſure: and they ſhall not ſee that this is *children's play* *.

135. And they ſhall determine that the people have *rights* which *tyranny* alone can take away; and they ſhall *grant* unto them theſe *rights*, and in the ſame breath they ſhall *revoke* them: and yet they ſhall admire their own *conſiſtency* and juſtice *.

136. And they ſhall exalt the civil rights of *men*, and they ſhall deſpiſe the rights of *women*: and they ſhall create uncivil *diſtinctions* between the ſexes, which *Moſes* never thought of *.

137. And they ſhall *decree* that men are all born *equal*; and yet it ſhall appear that they are all *unequal* at their birth *.

138. And they ſhall vote that men *continue equal* through life: and yet it ſhall appear that they are all *unequal*, even until death *.

139. And they ſhall teach the *ſtarving peaſant* that he is equal in *property* to the man who poſſeſſes thouſands: and the *peaſant* ſhall marvel that he knew it not *.

140. And the peaſant ſhall ſuſpect that he had *alienated* his *right*; and they ſhall tell that it was *unalienable* and *imperſcriptible* *.

141. And the peaſant ſhall claim that *right* which he hath no *right* to alienate; and they ſhall hang him for doing *wrong*; and he ſhall be aſtoniſhed at their "illuminating" doctrines.

142. And he ſhall plead their own *theories* to defend his conduct; and they ſhall tell him that *theories* are only for *philoſophers*; and he ſhall grievouſly lament that he was not born a *philoſopher*.

143. And he ſhall conclude that what is *metaphyſically* true, may be *practically* falſe; and that if he had only ſtolen in *theory*, he would not have been gibbetted in *fact* *.

144. And they ſhall expound to the *illiterate* what experience and *wiſdom* can ſcarcely fathom; and *common ſenſe* ſhall be confounded by "the "mightineſs of their reaſonings."

145. And

145. And they ſhall eſtabliſh Committees to teach the mechanic, and "the work-maſter, and "him who holdeth the plough, and whoſe talk "is of bullocks," what the mechanic, and "the "work-maſter, and he who holdeth the plough, "and whoſe talk is of bullocks," can never comprehend: and they ſhall "*caſhier*" him for the obſcurity of their own *declarations**.

146. And they ſhall call *fiſherwomen* and *labourers* into Council, that they may diſgrace all *Government* in the eyes of the people; and folly and wiſdom, and conjecture and experience, ſhall have equal right to rule*.

147. And they ſhall call *darkneſs* an *enlightening* principle; and yet they ſhall ſay to *light*, "I ſee "it not."

148. And they ſhall *grant* to the farmer the liberty to ſhoot partridges and hares, *becauſe* they feed upon the produce of his land; and the farmer ſhall refuſe to pay his rents, *becauſe* they are the produce of his toil and labour*.

149. And his landlord ſhall impriſon him for this refuſal, and he ſhall not ſee either the *right* or *reaſon*; nor ſhall his landlord be able to point it out.

150. And they ſhall call *licentiouſneſs*, *freedom*; and the *love of order*, a ſlaviſh principle: and *ſcurrility* ſhall paſs for *wit*; and *buffoonery* for ſterling *humour*.

151. And they ſhall *ſay* one thing, and they ſhall *mean* another; and they ſhall have *no meaning* at all: and the people ſhall apply to them for inſtruction, and they ſhall refer them to the *Conſtitution*: and the people ſhall not comprehend them; and they ſhall not care whether they do or not*.

152. And they ſhall vaunt their own enlarged ideas and *liberality* of mind; and yet they ſhall talk of *Rome* and of *Peter*, to keep up ancient prejudices, and to excite the lower claſſes to *illiberal* doings*.

153. And their *diſcoveries* relating to *Religion*, and *Morals*, and *Liberty*, and *Government*, and *ſpirit*, and *ſpace*, and *entities*, and *quiddities*, ſhall aſtoniſh all mankind: and the wiſdom and experience of former ages ſhall vaniſh in the ſuperior luſtre of *modern* ſagacity, and be reputed only as the offspring of ignorance, and prejudice, and folly*.

154. And they ſhall talk of the *majeſty* of the *mob*, and they ſhall deſpiſe the *majeſty* of the *King*; and they ſhall cruſh a *Government* or a *King*, as they would a *gnat**.

155. And they ſhall inſiſt that *peace* and *happineſs* eſſentially flow from the *popular* State alone; and they ſhall appeal for *proof* to diſtant times and lands, whither few will be ever tempted to purſue them*.

156. And they ſhall deride the man that ſaid "all power is from God," and they ſhall *declare* that *all power is from the people**.

157. And

157. And in their *words* they ſhall give praiſe to truth, and to equity, and to honour; and in their *deeds* they ſhall diſcard them all, as the *minutiæ* of vulgar minds.

158. And they ſhall *traduce* their neighbour, and they ſhall *vilify* their neighbour's character, to eſtabliſh the *equity* of their own proceedings; and they ſhall miſtate both *his ſentiments* and *words*, that they may abuſe him for *their own abſurdities**.

159. And they ſhall ſay that they hate *war*, and they ſhall teach *rebellion*: and they ſhall affect to be lovers of *peace*; and they ſhall ſtir up *contention**.

160. And they ſhall aſſert that they love their *country* and its *conſtitution*, and yet they ſhall endeavour to *deſtroy* it; and they ſhall ſet up for *patriots* and for *friends* to their countries' weal; —and they ſhall meet with *unbelief**.

161. And they ſhall *prove* that their country has no *conſtitution*, becauſe "it cannot be produced"; and they ſhall aſſert that a *conſtitution* is a *horn-book* where every *element* of Legiſlation may be pointed out with a pin*.

162. And they ſhall attempt to pull down a *ſolid* building under a pretence to make it *ſtronger*; and they ſhall build it upon *ſand* that it may fall the *ſooner*; and that they may reap *experience* from repeated trial*.

163. And

163. And they ſhall *take* man's happineſs *away*, in order to make it more *ſecure*; and when the cheat ſhall be diſcovered, they ſhall cooly ſay "who would have thought it?"

164. And they ſhall ſo deeply reverence the Scriptures, that they ſhall appeal "to the Vocabulary of Adam" even to prove that in Paradiſe there were neither *Dukes* nor *Counts*; and to the writings of *Moſes*, even to eſtabliſh that all human creatures are either *male* or *female* *.

165. And leſt they ſhould be ſuſpected of any "ſectarian principles of religion" they ſhall vote *all Biſhops to the lamp-poſt*; and diſcard the *prieſthood* as an uſeleſs lumber *.

166. And they ſhall ſpeak in praiſe of *conſiſtency*, and yet ſhall be full of *contradiction*: nor ſhall they "preſerve in any latitude of life the right-angled character of man*."

167. And they ſhall teach that out of *woods* and *foreſts* there can be no real *liberty* nor *freedom* *: and they ſhall fetch both their principles and their reaſonings from the *wilderneſs*, and they ſhall be fit for none but *ſavages* *.

168. And they ſhall cauſe great *evils*, and *plagues*, and *uneaſineſs* in ſociety, in hopes that *good* may follow; and when they lay claim to the *thanks* and *admiration* of mankind, they ſhall meet with nothing but *execration* and *contempt*.

169. And they ſhall affix the name of *bigotry* and *fanaticiſm* and *folly* to whatever is not the offſpring

offspring of their own conceit; and they ſhall erect a ſhapeleſs *idol* of their own, and ſummons all mankind to *fall down* and *worſhip* *.

170. And when they ſhall ſee that their devices are held at naught, they ſhall fret like a *froward child* that has loſt his rattle; and they ſhall coax and bully, and abuſe and ſooth by turns, that they may inſure ſucceſs to their *miſchievous* ſchemes.

171. And they ſhall *complain* of grievances which they do not ſuffer, and of cruel *hardſhips* which they never felt; and they ſhall *ſmile* at the ſenſeleſs pity of thoſe who commiſerate their *feigned* diſtreſs *.

172. And they ſhall receive *benefits* and they ſhall be unthankful for them; and their *demands* ſhall riſe in proportion to the *indulgences* they receive*.

173. And they ſhall *wiſh* that none may "peep" into the century that is *paſt*; and yet they ſhall *invite* them to it by their *preſent* reſtleſs conduct *.

174. And they ſhall publicly *inſult* the nation to whoſe *liberality* they are indebted for the *happineſs* they enjoy, and that ſhare of *freedom* which they do not deſerve: and ſtill they ſhall hold themſelves the model of all that is *wiſe*, and *good*, and *juſt* *.

175. Although *few* in number, they ſhall trample on the rights of the *many*; and boldly ſet up their

their own *private reſolves* againſt the *public* wiſh and will.

176. And they ſhall *reſolve* that the *majority* have a *right* to do what they pleaſe: and when the law is made by the *majority*, they ſhall vote it *oppreſſion for religion ſake**.

177. And they ſhall inſiſt that the *majority* are not *the people*. And when they find that the *majority* is againſt them, they ſhall inſiſt that they are *ideots*, and deſerve "to eat ſtraw*."

178. And they ſhall aſſure thoſe that are *wealthy*, *free*, and *happy*, that they are *wretched*, and *poor*, and *ſlaves*: and the people ſhall rather chuſe to credit their own convictions and feelings, than the quibbling ſophiſtry of State empirics*.

179. And ſome few ſhall be perverted by the impudent ſtrength of their aſſertions; but when they are fallen into the ſnares of the deceitful, they ſhall lament their own credulity.

180. And they that ſhall not liſten to the voice of *murmur* and *ſedition* ſhall be *happy* ſtill; and their land ſhall be the land of *plenty*, *peace*, and *freedom*.

181. And they ſhall continue to be the *envy* of the nations that ſurround them, and ſhall bid defiance to the *ſtorms* with which *they* are convulſed.

182. And

182. And when it ſhall pleaſe the Father of ages to call the univerſe unto judgement, then ſhall . . . . . .

183. And it will appear that . . . . . deceit . . . . ruin . . . . and never . . diſappointment, lamentation, and woe.

Cætera deſunt.

NOTES.

N. B. *The following remarks, illuſtrations, and conjectures, are numbered in the ſame manner as the articles of the* Fragment *to which they refer. Out of reſpect to certain* Individuals, *as well as* Societies, *whoſe political and religious opinions very materially differ from thoſe of the Editor, he has thrown them into the back ground of the picture which he has here exhibited for the general entertainment of his Countrymen. From this, moreover, he requeſts that none will preſume to bring them forth, if they ſhall appear to be the leaſt infringement of the* Rights *of their fellow citizens, or to have the moſt diſtant tendency to deſtroy the tranquillity and happineſs of that community, to the deareſt intereſts of which he ſhall always eſteem himſelf happy to devote his* Leiſure *and* Lucubrations.

PREFACE. *The ſubſtance of this ſtory has been lately given in the *St. James's Chronicle*, though with ſome trifling inaccuracies relating chiefly to time and place. The real fact is as follows. The old Biſhop of *** being reluctantly dragged to the altar by the prevailing faction, and urged to take the Patriotic Oath, was ſuddenly alarmed by the crowing of a cock which a peaſant was carrying to market, and with which through

curioſity he had entered the church. From a certain natural aſſociation of ideas, the Biſhop began to be confuſed. *Chanticleer* crew again:—the Prieſt trembled, and grew pale. But his aſſiſtants were preſſing, and the auditory were numerous and "enlightened." The fear therefore of ſcandal, and *certain other conſiderations*, prevailed upon him to proceed. But ſcarce had he begun with a faultering voice to ſtammer out the firſt words of the Oath, than the cock crew a third time; which had ſo great an effect upon the Prelate, that he fainted away. Unfortunately his name was PETER; and the anecdote related of his nameſake in the goſpel, when he was about to deny his maſter, preſented itſelf too forcibly to his imagination, not to produce the moſt violent effect. As ſoon as he recovered from his ſwoon, he proſtrated himſelf before the altar; and "*weeping bitterly*," vowed to Heaven that he would never ſubmit to take an oath affecting his Chriſtian principles, which was preſcribed by INFIDELS. The Demagogues were diſpleaſed, and grew outrageous; the Ariſtocrates applauded and rejoiced. And it is ſaid that ſince that time, not only in the neighbourhood of **, but in many other provinces of France, the women and children, who no leſs than their huſbands and fathers begin to be heartily ſick of the REVOLUTION that has taken place, as well in their happineſs and enjoyments as in the Government of their country, whenever they ſee *a ſwearing prieſt*, ſet up a crowing by way of ridicule.

ART. 120. * What this fragment of a ſentence alludes to is very uncertain, or by what means it came to be inſerted in Mr. Burke's *Reflections*. He has there applied it to the French Revolution: and from an impartial review of the hiſtory of this memorable event, he appears to have ſtrong preſumptions in his favour. For the inſtances of "levity and ferocity" which are recorded even in their own "*Procés Verbaux*," are more than ſufficient to juſtify the application. See Mr. *Burke*, p. 11. Alſo the *Eſſai Hiſtorique et Raiſonné ſur la Revolution de France, Londres* 1790, ſold by *Faulder*.

121. * See

121. * See 2 Epiſ. of *S. Peter* II. and compare it with the writings of Mr. *Paine*, and *D D. Price* and *Prieſtley*. The ancient ſages curſed not their Sovereign, no not even in their thoughts, " leſt a bird of the air ſhould " carry the voice, and that which had wings ſhould tell " the matter." But our modern *wiſe ones* have diſcarded all theſe antiquated prejudices; and having ſo long proceeded with impunity, they ſcorn to fear " where no fear " is." But, alas! " he that made the ear, will he not " *one day* hear: he that formed the eye, ſhall he not ſee?" *Eccleſ.* 10. 20. *Pſalm* 94. 9.

Ibid. † The intelligent reader will immediately perceive how fully this prediction applies to ſome of the moſt active characters in the diſputes which have lately ſo much engroſſed the attention of ſociety. The author of *the Rights of Man*, who talks ſo much of " the de- " grading foppery of nicknames," in the *thing* which, by a ſad miſnomer, he has preſumed to call *An Anſwer to Mr. Burke*, has by no means been able to lay aſide theſe " Baby cloaths, and breech himſelf in manhood." For he is careful to remind his reader that it was written " by the author of the work entitled *Common Senſe*—Se- " cretary for foreign affairs to Congreſs." And his good and truſty ally, the MAN OF TITLES, could not publiſh even his trifling " *Letters to Mr. Burke*", without blazoning their frontiſpiece with the gaudy *inſignia* of academic nobility, L. L. D. F. R. S. AC. IMP. PETROP. R. PARIS. HOLM. TAURIN. ITAL. HARLEM. AUREL. MED. PARIS. CANTAB. AMERIC. ET PHILAD. SOC. So that, however theſe gentlemen may be inclined to diſparage titles which no one is diſpoſed to give them, they are not a little vain of ſuch as they apprehend they have ſome right to. And in this caſe they can, with all poſſible *humility*, condeſcend to ſtrut " in their fine rib- " bands like a girl, and ſhew their new ornaments like a " child." See Paine's " *Rights of Man*," 2d edit. p. 70.

" *Naturam expellas furca, tamen uſque recurret!*"

122. * This ſeems to be already, in great meaſure, verified in a neighbouring country, where, if we may give credit

credit to the moſt reſpectable authorities, every thing is anarchy, rebellion, miſery, and tumult — the moſt poignant diſtreſs in the *preſent* moment, and the moſt dreadful apprehenſions of the evils that ſeem *ſtill* to await them; where no property is ſecure, no principle reſpected; where "the whole head is ſick, and every heart is faint;" and where the entire ſyſtem, both in Church and State, preſents one continued ſcene of tyranny and contradiction. *Theſe are thy Gods, O Iſrael!* in whom thou haſt placed thy confidence!!!

123. *The conſent and acquieſcence of the majority forms, even according to the *American Secretary*, the baſis of all civil aſſociations: but "the large majority of "this nation are *entirely* ſatisfied," ſays Mrs. *Macauley* in her "Letter to Lord Stanhope," with the preſent conſtitution. Therefore, to ſet up private *juntos* in oppoſition to the *entire* wiſh and will of the large majority of the community, is illegally to erect *imperium in imperio*; to ſap the very foundations of the Government of their country, and the happineſs of their fellow citizens; and to act a part no leſs diſhonourable than it is unjuſt.

Ibid. †See the *Rights of Men*; all the *latter* publications of D. *Prieſtley*; the *reſolutions* paſſed, and the *toaſts* given in ſeveral late "unconſtitutional" meetings; *many* of the pamphlets publiſhed during the debate on the Teſt Act; and the writings of moſt of thoſe who have been *nibbling* for theſe ſix laſt months paſt at Mr. Burke's *Reflections on the French Revolution.*

The Author of the "*Vindiciæ Galliciæ*" has not ſcrupled to aſſert that our Government is *inſolently corrupt*—that *no political improvement was ever obtained in a period of tranquility* — that *whatever excellence, whatever freedom is diſcoverable in government, has been infuſed into them by the ſhock of a Revolution*— that our *Parliament is not the guardian of the people's rights, nor the organ of its voice*— that *our freedom is ſervitude*; *our Government, uſurpation*; *a mere Government of conſpiracy and oppreſſion, in which the nation has no ſhare.* He calls upon every claſs of people

people who think themſelves oppreſſed, *to melt their local and partial grievances into one great maſs*, and not to ſue for them *like mendicants, as a precarious boon from the arrogant pity of uſurpers:* and foretells that the moment will *infallibly* arrive when Government ſhall *be obliged* to *ſupplicate* the people whom they now oppreſs—a moment *when virtue and honor will compel the people to ſeek their freedom by their ſwords.* Times were, when this would doubtleſs have been deemed the language of ſedition: but in theſe more happy days it is ſeriouſly held forth as that of the *beſt and moſt enlightened men*, who are not yet become ſufficiently *debaſed and embruted, to wallow in the placid and polluted ſervitude* by which the *mind* of their country is held in ignominious vaſſalage. "*O tempora! O mores! Ego magnum in republica verſari furorem, nova quidem miſceri et concitari mala jam pridem videbam: ſed hanc tantam, tam exitioſam haberi conjurationem a civibus nunquam putavi—latius opinione diſſeminatum eſt hoc malum.*"

After reading ſuch inflammatory language as this, I really was aſtoniſhed to find this very gentleman complaining towards the cloſe of his "*Vindiciæ*" that in this country "the preſs is fettered." Few, I apprehend, that are in their ſober ſenſes, will ever ſuſpect this, if they are acquainted with Mr. Mackintoſh's *Defence of the French Revolution*, Mr. Taylor's Tranſlation of *Proclus*, or Doctor *Prieſtley*'s numerous *Philippics*, in which the government and religion of this country are ſo extremely vilified and abuſed. Surely, in this reſpect, the liberality of the Engliſh nation ſtands unrivalled. In France, indeed, no *reſtraints* whatever are laid on men's tongues or pens; and they may now *freely*, in virtue of their new *rights*, utter blaſphemies againſt Heaven—diſturb their country's tranquillity—defame their neighbour's character, or injure his domeſtic peace; with this only *proviſo*, that they alſo muſt ſubmit, like good children, to be pilloried or hanged for the ſame, if the law ſhould ſo determine it. See the 10th and 11th Articles of the "Declaration of Rights." What "a magazine of light!" What perfect freedom from control!

124. * See the *Reſolutions* paſſed *Nov* 4, at the *London Tavern*; and *Nov.* 27, at the meeting in *Taviſtock Street*, —Dr. Price's *Revolution Sermon* (p. 31)—the *Hiſtory of the Corruptions of Chriſtianity* (v. ii. p. 484) "We are laying gun-powder under the old building of error and ſuperſtition, ſays Dr. *Prieſtley*, which a ſingle ſpark may hereafter inflame, ſo as to produce an inſtantaneous exploſion, in conſequence of which, that edifice which has been the work of ages may be overturned in a moment."—Alas, poor England! "*An cum bello vaſtabitur patria, vexabuntur urbes, tecta ardebunt, tum te non exiſtimas invidiæ incendio conflagraturum?*"

It has been ſaid that on the 14th of this month, there is to be a meeting of *Diſſidents* and *Revolutioniſts*, either at the *Pantheon*, *Ranelagh*, or ſome other place of public reſort, where they are to vote *Reſolutions* that ſhall aſtoniſh all Mankind. It alſo has been ſuggeſted, that it is their intention to conſtitute themſelves a "National Aſſembly;" to proclaim the "Rights of Men;" and then to conclude the evening in jollity and Mirth, by ſetting fire to the *train of gunpowder* which one of their chief artificers has ſo long been preparing, "*quo church & churchmen in cælum upblowere poſſit:* (Ep. Macaron). And in confirmation of the above it has even been added, that cards of invitation have been already ſent to all the *fiſherwomen*, and the inhabitants of the *night-cellars*, to requeſt their aſſiſtance in the "Regeneration" of this country; and that they are to be joined by the *ladies* of the *Halles* and the *Place-Maubert* of Paris. But all this can certainly be nothing elſe than the fiction of ſome wicked wight, who wiſhes to make himſelf merry at the expence of his Fellow citizens. For though to be ſure, as old *Jeffrey Squaretoes* ſomewhere obſerved, things are now-a-days come to a ſad paſs; yet it never can be ſeriouſly believed that honeſt *John Bull* will ever give into theſe new-fangled projects, and barter the ſterling enjoyment of a manly and rational freedom, for the tinſel promiſes and gewgaw ſyſtems of liberty imported from abroad.

125. * See

125. See *Preface* to the "*Rights of Man.*" It is ſaid that M. *Paine* is now poſſeſſed of one of the beſt eſtates in *New Jerſey*, as a reward for his ſetting England and America together by the ears. He ſometimes has pretended great good-will to this country; as for example, when he was *ſo kindly* concerting a ſcheme with the under Secretary of the French nation, for the preſervation of peace between the two rival powers. But yet it will not eaſily be forgotten that he had but very few years before characteriſed us as "a loſt, abandoned, and profligate nation, whoſe aſſurances were fraud, and whoſe language was deception; who are to be held by nothing but the bayonet or the halter." This is the man whoſe ſentiments the "*Revolution Society*" applauds, and whoſe ſeditious writings are circulated in this country. Surely *Cataline* muſt appear a patriot, when compared with ſome of our modern reformers.

126. The definitions given by Mr. *Paine* of the words *Conſtitution*, *Rights*, *Crown*, *Monarchy*, &c.; or the ſtrange perverſion of terms which is obſervable in the petulant and crude publications of ſome of our modern *enthuſiaſts* both in politics and religion, are an evident accompliſhment of this aſſertion. The following few ſpecimens from the New Vocabulary, with their *preſent* ſignifications annexed, may ſerve to give the reader ſome idea of the improvements which language has lately undergone:

	MEANS	
Sovereign		*Servant*
Miſconduct - -		*Violation of Contract, and ſubverſion of the fundamental laws.*
I have evidently proved		*I have boldly aſſerted.*
Confuted - - -		*Replied to.*
Nobility - - -		*No-ability.*
Firmneſs - - -		*Impudence.*
Pure Chriſtianity - -		*Socinianiſm.*
Right - - -		*Power.*
A King - -		*A* thing *which none but* ideots *wiſh to keep.*

A diplomatic

A diplomatic	MEANS	*An unconnected atom.*
A hiſtory of corruptions		*A corruption of hiſtory.*
Liberty - -		*Licentiouſneſs.*
Nation - -		*A few turbulent individuals.*
Natural - -		*Ideal.*
Liberality - -		*The moſt narrow bigotry.*
Fool and Knaves -		*All who differ in opinion from themſelves.*

127. * See Dr. *Prieſtley*'s third "Letter to Mr. *Burke*," where he equivalently aſſerts that he can ſee no difference between a mere *town officer*, and the greateſt *king* upon earth. The great advantages derived from this levelling ſyſtem are at this time fully experienced in France, where "Chaos ſeems already come again."

"Their public ſtocks a beggar: one Pariſian
Truſts not another. Look into their ſtores
Of general ſafety; empty magazines:
A tattered fleet; a murm'ring unpaid army;
Bankrupt nobility; a factious, giddy, and
Divided ſenate; a harraſſed commonalty;
Where all agree to ſpoil the common good.
Where there's no truſt, no truth; where innocence
Stoops under vile oppreſſion, and vice lords it.
They've neither ſafety, unity, nor peace:
Juſtice is lame, as well as blind amongſt them.
The laws corrupted to their ends that make them,
Serve but for inſtruments of ſome new tyranny,
That every day ſtarts up t' enſlave them deeper.

OTWAY.

After all, this levelling principle to which the good ſolitary ſeems to allude, appears to have been but partially attended to, even where the *equal* rights of man have been moſt ſolemnly proclaimed. The whole of what they have effected, is the lowering of ſome few individuals, and thus gratifying the jealous repinings of thoſe in the middle ranks of life, whilſt they added nothing either to the

the conſequence or comforts of the lower claſſes, who form the far greater part of the community. Titles, indeed, are fallen, and the *ſaturnalia* of former days have been revived: but thoſe who had riches ſtill poſſeſs them; and the more numerous claſſes are ſtill, as ever, "degradedly thrown into the back ground" of the human picture, in all their former diſtortion.

In *America*, where the exertions of men are chiefly confined to the culture of the earth, a greater equality may prevail, and property will be divided with a more impartial hand. But in commercial countries, the proſperity of which depends upon trade and manufactures, where ſo many debaſing and unhealthy occupations are the chief means whereby the commodities to which they owe their wealth are produced, the ſcheme of equality is a mere *Utopian* pretenſion, an idle dream of the fancy which never can be realiſed. In theſe there will a certain portion of the community be for ever thrown into "the back ground." And were it poſſible that any circumſtance ſhould accidentally deliver them from the mines, the ſmelting furnaces, the forges, the unwholeſome cells, the pernicious and deſtructive employments to which their hopes of enjoying a ſhare in the *ſacred rights of mankind* condemn them, they would again relapſe, in a ſhort ſpace of time, into their former ſituation, in ſpite of all theſe viſionary theories of equality; leſs fitted both in mind and body to ſupport the burden. This only advantage might they poſſibly be expected to reap from the experience, that, when they found themſelves gradually outſtripped by others in the accumulation of wealth, and the poſſeſſion of its concomitant advantages, they might perhaps be convinced that this was an evil inherent to humanity, againſt which no permanent remedy could be provided; and have borne more eaſily the *glare* ariſing from the *fore ground*, whether it proceeded from *Kings*, *Nobles*, *Ariſtocrates*, or *Demagogues*. Of what importance, however, is it to the lower claſſes that the differences of rank and title are removed; that they are complimented with the appellation of *brethren* and *equals*; that *ſovereigns* are called *ſervants*; and that

every *nominal* diſtinction is done away; whilſt the more invidious and real differences ariſing from inequality of wealth, are ſtill permitted to ſubſiſt?—more eſpecially as the poor are in fact more likely to be oppreſſed by thoſe who owe their fancied pre-eminence to riches, than by ſuch as derived it from pedigree and title. For it may be obſerved with truth, that there exiſts a prejudice in favour of ancient pedigree and blood, which will always incline the lower claſſes to ſubmit with leſs reluctance to their direction, were it even in ſome degree oppreſſive, than to be trampled upon by upſtart families whoſe *origin* they know, and whoſe *opulence*, if not ariſing from rapine and extortion, was at leaſt chiefly owing to their induſtry and labour.

It may perhaps be ſaid, that the unequal diſtribution of property is a neceſſary evil: that a ſecurity for whatever men can obtain by labour, is a ſpur to induſtry and active exertion. Where property has been acquired by the preſent poſſeſſors, this reaſoning may, to a certain degree, be admitted; but it is a wonder that in their plan of quarrelling with whatever ſeemed derived from feudal tenures, they did not recollect that the far greater part of the property of the nation was held by no other title. At any rate, the immenſe inequality which the difference of property in Europe produces, has been thought by men of more reflection than theſe Reformers, to be a real evil; and that ſome reſtrictions upon the accumulation of wealth beyond a certain pitch, might have been both juſt and uſeful. How far this theory is admiſſible, or whether it would produce the ſalutary effects deſigned, may poſſibly be a matter of real difficulty to aſcertain. But a *ſumptuary* and an *agrarian* law, when an attempt was made wholly to "regenerate" a nation, would have probably been found to contribute infinitely more both to the happineſs and the morals of a people, than any illuſive "declaration of rights," no leſs falſe in *principle*, than equivocally expreſſed.

128. *Nothing ſurely could be more imprudent than what we have lately been witneſs to in a neighbouring kingdom, where the code of laws by which their new Conſtitution was to be governed, was iſſued in with a declaration

declaration of the *rights* of men, without the ſlighteſt mention of their *duties*: for what elſe is this but ſupplying them with a plauſible pretext to create diſturbances upon every petty diſſatisfaction. It may perhaps be ſaid that that the reſpective *duties* of men may readily be collected from their mutual *rights*. Had this declaration been addreſſed to perſons of much reflection, accuſtomed to the combinations of abſtract reaſoning, there might be ſome propriety in this apology. But the multitude is little likely to draw the proper inferences from right to duty: and when the latter, which naturally includes a certain idea of reſtraint and ſelf denial, appears at any time in oppoſition to that which they have been taught to conſider as their priviledge, there can remain but little doubt to which they will incline. Were the connection between the two obvious and eaſy to be ſeized, yet to a moral agent the idea of duty and fitneſs ſhould certainly have been firſt preſented. But where the conſequences lie remote, and what we *wiſh*, rather than what we *know*, is too likely to be adopted as a rule of conduct; to remind the lower claſſes of their *wants* and *wiſhes*, and by a natural inference of their *power* at any time to gratify them, without ſuggeſting the obligation of keeping their paſſions in ſubjection to the duties they owe to God, to ſociety, and to themſelves—was ſurely no leſs oppoſite to the principles of ſound policy, than to the plain dictates of common ſenſe.

Reflections upon the conduct of the French National Aſſembly may perhaps by ſome perſons be deemed improper, though brought in only to explain the text of a foreign writer. But as the principles upon which they proceeded have met with ſo many abettors in this country; no remarks, whatever, which are likely to be of ſervice to our own fellow citizens, ought to be conſidered as ſuperfluous or miſ-placed: and the Editor is perfectly convinced of the wiſdom of the poet's advice,

> "Principiis obſta, ſero medicina paratur
> "Cum mala per longas invaluere moras."

When

When not only your neighbour's houſe is on fire, but the ſmoke, and heat, and ſparks have reached your own, it would be equally ridiculous and criminal to ſtand upon the exact rules of formality and *etiquette*.

129. * " That which a whole nation chuſes to do, ſays Mr. *Paine*, " it has a right to do." Yet when a whole nation, that is, to uſe Mrs. *Macaulay's* expreſſion, " the large majority" of it, chuſes to adopt a monarchical form of Government, an hereditary ſucceſſion, or even ſome partial law which does not meet with this great man's approbation, he ſcruples not to pronounce that its conduct is both abſurd and *illegal*.

If by the aſſertion above quoted from the " Rights of Man," the author only means that in every caſe where it is evident what the public will is, it is, by the nature of the ſocial compact, the duty of every individual *remaining a member of the community* to ſubmit to it, the maxim certainly is true. But if it is his meaning to affirm that the public wiſh will in every inſtance juſtify the act in a moral light, it is a principle no leſs falſe in itſelf, than of moſt deſtructive tendency. To make *will* and *power* the rule of *right*, is to apologiſe for every moſt cruel uſurpation and injuſtice which ſtains the hiſtories of nations. Nevertheleſs, if properly applied, it certainly points out the only principle upon which I conceive that all ſociety is built. A ſtate of nature, if any ſuch can be conceived with reſpect to man, muſt be eſſentially a ſtate of anarchy, wherein the natural principles of conduct are appetite, deſire, or inſtinct; a ſtate where the wolf has equal *right* to prey on man, as man has by his ſuperior powers a *right* to enſnare the wolf, or ſacrifice the lamb. Where the rights of *all* are equal, they are but a nugatory claim with reſpect to *any:* and the only *freedom* that man could in that caſe boaſt of, would be the liberty he enjoyed of doing what he liſted, whilſt he met with no ſuperior force to *check* him. If his rights were limited in any other manner, he muſt be ſuppoſed the ſubject of ſome civil or moral government: and if they were unlimited

unlimited, he either could do no *wrong*; or, were there ſuch a thing as *wrong*, he might juſtly claim a right to do it. From hence it is apparent that to talk either of *right* or *wrong*, without a reference to ſome appointed rule of conduct, is equally abſurd as to talk of *long* or *ſhort* without ſome meaſure with which they may be compared. To prevent the *check* inſinuated above, and turn *poſſeſſion* into *property*, mankind in every age and every nation have conſented, at leaſt by *acquieſcence*, that all their claims whatever ſhould be determined by certain poſitive regulations and general principles of ſocial polity, and not by abſtract reaſoning, and metaphyſical ſubtilties. The political compact of nations is but an extenſion of the *parental* and *patriarchal* ſchemes of early times; and in whatever form it is drawn up, is nearly ſtill the ſame in ſubſtance: that is—*a ſurrender of every private right or claim for the more general benefit of the whole*, under a certain form of laws whether written or unwritten, or under a certain *conſtitution* received by the majority of thoſe who can with truth and in the language of common ſenſe be ſaid to have a *choice*, however improperly they may be inclined to uſe it.

What ceſſions or what reſtrictions may be neceſſary in a ſtate of civil confederacy, with reſpect to the individuals who compoſe it, the ſociety muſt determine: and from this determination there cannot lie an appeal. It is not impoſſible but that Society may err as well in its reſolves, as in the motives upon which its deciſions are built; and ſome of its decrees may, in certain inſtances, be really oppreſſive. Whenever this appears to be the caſe, the party that thinks himſelf aggrieved, may doubtleſs petition for the relief to which he eſteems himſelf entitled; and if the iſſue be againſt him, he may withold an approbation which he cannot grant againſt conviction. But whatever be his private *opinion*, it is ſtill his duty to ſubmit in ſilent acquieſcence; and this not only for *wrath*, but even for *conſcience ſake*: by virtue of the contract he had made. Nor can he in equity employ any means of redreſs whatever, which the ſociety of which he is a member diſapproves—or petulantly raiſe a murmur to diſturb its peace.

peace. This doctrine ſeems moſt ſtrictly true, and ought as ſuch to be in practice religiouſly adhered to. If this is not admitted, the principles upon which all civil aſſociation is built, muſt be rejected; and the laws of the community (more ſacred far than any other *human* laws or claims) may *legally* and *equitably* be infringed, whenever they chance to be in oppoſition to the private *intereſts*, or *judgement*, or *wiſhes* of any individual or individuals, who can command ſufficient ſtrength and power to infringe them with impunity. The principles here laid down may, I acknowledge, lead to abuſe; and ſeem to conſecrate every act of a tyrannical government, however flagrant and oppreſſive. Againſt this application of them, what I obſerved on ſome preceding *Articles* is a ſufficient caveat. But if abſurd concluſions are drawn from premiſes which are in themſelves juſt, the abſurdity reflects on the improper application, and not on the principles themſelves. Againſt the moſt undoubted truths there have, at one time or other, been deviſed the moſt *plauſible* arguments. They ſhould not, however, upon that account, be diſcarded. Let principles be admitted, and held inviolable, where they are true and juſt: and no inference whatever which is fairly deducible from them, can be dangerous or hurtful. *Socrates*, one of the *beſt* as well as *wiſeſt* of men, was evidently of this opinion. When condemned unjuſtly to death by the laws of *Athens*, he ſubmitted to the ſentence, and refuſed to comply with the entreaties of his friends who by corrupting the keeper of the jail, had contrived him the means of eſcape. Inviolability of principles he juſtly deemed the ſecurity of his country, and the duty of every individual, however connected in particular caſes with his own private injury. For he well knew that if any private tribunal were admitted to which ſociety was amenable, all government whatever from that moment could only be conſidered as a mere infirm, precarious, and temporary convention. Upon the principles of civil government, and the real rights of men ſee Dr. *Tatham*'s "Letters to Mr. Burke," where he has clearly ſhewn the abſurdity of Dr. *Prieſtley*'s SUPPOSITIONS on theſe heads.

130. * The

130. *The lower claſſes who will certainly *out of gratitude* read the *cheap edition* of Mr. *Paine* which has been circulated *for their improvement* in political knowledge, will naturally conclude that the government of a nation ſhould be "regenerated" with every ſucceſſive generation of men, or about three times, upon an average, in every century. For as they are not to be conſigned, "like beaſts of the field," to whatever "ſucceſſor" the "manuſcript authority of the dead" contracted for; nor to be bound by laws in the framing of which they did not concur; why ſhould they ſuffer themſelves to be impoſed upon or controlled "in any ſhape whatever," or "willed away" by their grandfathers, who have long ſince been in their graves?

In caſes of any eſſential breach of contract, of any violation of the fundamental laws of the Conſtitution, Mr. Burke has admitted (p. 29, 43, 93, 144) whatever the moſt decided advocate for Revolutions can require in the line of common ſenſe, or moral competency. Mr. *Paine* muſt therefore evidently mean more than this. But if the obvious inferences of his declamatory poſitions be admitted, what Government can ever be ſecure and ſtable; what happineſs can ever be expected in ſociety; what property can we ever juſtly eſteem our own? Can it be deemed a leſſon of common prudence to keep the attention of an ignorant and capricious multitude inceſſantly fixed upon the conſtitution and government of their country, and to tell them that they may ſubvert it when they pleaſe? Will obedience and the power of controul be ever found together? Is the ſtrength of the populace to be for ever dwelt on, and complimented with the name of *right?* Is it in the order of things that the lower claſſes in ſociety are to take the lead; and that mere *number*, without knowledge, without character, without reſponſibility, ſhould outweigh wiſdom, age, experience, goodneſs, and property? Such deſtructive doctrines as theſe ſhould really be diſcountenanced by every man of ſenſe and feeling. For if good order is preferable to riot and confuſion; if ſecurity and peace are more deſirable than a ſtate of contention and uncertain-

ty; if a ſound and healthy conſtitution is to be preferred to a languid, ſickly, and infirm habit; then moſt undoubtedly is a firm and ſettled government, though attended with ſome imperfections, more conſonant with the *rights* as well as *wants* of man, than the precarious ſyſtem of a new regeneration, as often as a powerful faction in the State may find it convenient to ſuggeſt any plauſible pretence for attempting it. Neither, according to theſe principles, is it by any means neceſſary that other cauſe ſhould be alledged for the ſubverſion of government, beſides the bare will of the people: for as it is a "thing" of their own creation, they may remove, change, replace, or limit this *thing* at pleaſure. Each new generation is equally free with that which went before it: and leſt *preſcription* ſhould be alledged againſt its right to make a conſtitution for itſelf, a new general convention muſt frequently be ſummoned as a *caveat* againſt this plea. And thus mankind, in order to eſtabliſh in theory its right to freedom, muſt be perpetually ſlaves to the worſt of tyrannies, the tyranny of a capricious multitude, under which neither their peace, nor property, nor life can be ſecure.

131. *See *Paine*, 117. A ſtate of ſociety is undoubtedly man's *natural* ſtate and deſtination. Whatever ſuppoſitions therefore have not a reſpect to this, are unnatural and fictitious. If the public good requires ſome civil *diſtinctions*, theſe muſt create ſome *inequality*: if they create any *inequality*, men do not always continue *equal*. Either therefore they muſt continue *unequal*, or if they remain *equal* there can be no civil *diſtinctions*; and therefore the public utility muſt not be conſulted. What an "illuminating" declaration this! What a ſolid *baſis* for a new Conſtitution!!

132. *Mr. Burke has been violently cenſured for inſiſting that at the Revolution, the people of England renounced *for ever* the right of making any eſſential alteration in the Conſtitution which was then adopted. All this is a mere quibble about words: but the ſinking wretch is happy to catch at any ſtraw he accidentally

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ſees floating by him. If at this time it was wiſhed and intended that the conſtitution then ſettled ſhould ſubſiſt FOR EVER, which ſurely cannot admit a doubt; then it may be fairly ſaid that they renounced *for ever* even the leaſt idea of a right to ſubvert it. Such ceſſion and diſavowal by no means excludes a "poſſibility of change in caſes of extreme emergency;" but is merely a ſtrong aſſeveration in *legal language* that the arrangement at that time adopted was deſigned to be inviolable, ſacred, and perpetual. And a poſſible deviation in fact from a law ſolemnly and reflectedly eſtabliſhed, cannot in common ſenſe or common language be termed a *right*. Another Conſtitution could never be adopted without another Revolution. But it would have been abſurd in the Parliament of 1688 either to aſſert a right to undo what they had juſt accompliſhed, or to ſuppoſe the poſſible exiſtence of the caſe, or even not to guard againſt every idea of it; at the very moment they were ſettling that form of government which they judged to be beſt adapted to the nation, in the name and by the authority of which they acted.

It is this right of returning back to chaos from a ſtate of harmony and peace, that the people of England "utterly diſclaim;" and it is hoped "with their lives and fortunes" are ready to reſiſt the practical attempts of thoſe who under falſe and deluſive pretences are ſeeking to deſtroy their real happineſs and actual enjoyments, in view of ſome poſſible more perfect ſyſtem or combination that might riſe from the ruins.

Much as the term *for ever* has been ridiculed by the abettors of the French Revolution in this country, the National Aſſembly itſelf has not only uſed a language of the ſame import in eſtabliſhing their new government, but obliged the people to confirm it by a ſolemn oath.

Dant veniam convis, vexant cenſura Columbas.

When Government is really become ſo tyrannical and corrupt as to juſtify reſiſtance, the nation will feel the

neceſſity without inſtruction. When the vitals of the State are ſo far diſeaſed that every lenitive is uſeleſs, the violence of the general complaint will of itſelf ſufficiently indicate the remedy without deliberation or diſcuſſion. But till ſuch feelings do actually exiſt; to endeavour to excite them, is treaſon and ſedition againſt the happineſs of the Commonwealth. In deſperate caſes deſperate remedies may be requiſite; yet the effect of them being at all times uncertain, their uſe is ever attended with infinite danger: and they ought never to be applied unleſs by the moſt ſkilful hands, with the utmoſt diffidence and caution. But when no ſuch malady exiſts; where ſome ſlight indiſpoſition of the body is the ſole complaint, or ſome ideal improvement is the only object purſued; to diſtribute theſe remedies to the ignorant or careleſs, who in a thouſand inſtances are not likely *once* to employ them right, is the madneſs of an empiric. And he who communicates ſuch noſtrums to the uninformed, deſerves the contempt and deteſtation of every well wiſher to mankind.

133. * The united powers of religion, and penal laws, and the perſuaſions of mutual advantage, can ſcarce reſtrain the lower claſſes: wherefore then weaken their motives to obedience and ſubmiſſion by abſtract ſubtilties which they cannot comprehend, and which in the ſimple indefinite expreſſion have ſuch a queſtionable meaning that they are ſure to be abuſed. To circulate doctrines which are either miſchievous or falſe in themſelves, can never be juſtified upon any principle or pretext: but to remove ſuch prejudices from the minds of the uninformed, as have a natural tendency to make them good and happy, is to render them a moſt unfriendly ſervice. The *people* will be the *people* ſtill, in ſpite of all the theories of thinking men. To conceal therefore from them ſuch ſpeculative truths as are above their reach, or to tolerate ſuch innocent prepoſſeſſions as from habit and education add to their ſum of comforts, is neither oppreſſion nor culpable deceit. It is at moſt but an harmleſs and beneficent illuſion, which is no more a "libel upon their underſtandings,"

underſtandings," as an ingenious writer (*Vind. Gall.* p. 307) has expreſſed it, than laws are a libel upon their integrity. See *Paine*, p. 9.

134. * If the people may *caſhier* their kings for *miſconduct*; if by *ſettling* a ſovereign on the throne they acquire a right to *diſplace* him, and chuſe what other governor they pleaſe; if the ſocial compact depends merely upon the *arbitrium popularis auræ*, ever fickle and inconſtant—liable to be directed either to the purpoſes of domeſtic enjoyment, or of wild and reſiſtleſs conflagration, according to the ſkill and fancy of the manager; then the moſt vaunted conſtitution is but a baby's plaything, which he admires for the firſt half hour he poſſeſſes it, and then pulls the toy to pieces to aſſert the exerciſe of his capricious dominion over it. The author of the "Vindiciæ Gallicæ" has aſſerted that by *miſconduct* Dr. Price moſt evidently meant "a conſpiracy againſt the liberty of his country." Whatever was his meaning, this at leaſt is certain, that to the unthinking it might convey a very different idea—and that an expreſſion ſo equivocal from a man of Dr. Price's character was at leaſt *imprudent* in a very high degree, no leſs than the apologies of thoſe who have attempted to defend it.

Both the ſentiments and language of the elegant author of the "Reflections on the French Revolution," upon the ſubjects here mentioned, have been entirely miſrepreſented or miſtaken. He has no where aſſerted, as Mr. *Paine* pretends, (page 14,) that *no human power*, to the end of time, can alter our preſent form of government: but he merely contends, that it would be eſſentially wrong to attempt it upon theories of poſſible improvement built upon the baſeleſs ſupport of conjectural enthuſiaſm, planned only by murmuring diſcontent, and a reſtleſs deſire of change. This would, he inſiſts, be contrary to prudence, to ſound policy, to the duty they owe both to themſelves and to their fellow creatures. He therefore denies the *right* to do it, becauſe there cannot exiſt a right to make either ourſelves or

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others miſerable. Inſtead of arguing upon the deceitful principles of metaphyſical abſtraction, this Chriſtian ſtateſman has accommodated all his reaſonings to real life and moral duty. His arguments all ſuppoſe the exiſtence of the body politic, and conſequently the acquieſcence and conſent of thoſe who may properly be ſtiled the nation: and in theſe circumſtances, he has moſt judiciouſly determined that it would be equally abſurd either to eſtimate the *right*, or ſpecify the *rule* for change, where neither right nor rule can be appealed to in any other ſenſe or view than we may appeal to the airy fancies of fiction and of folly.

135. *Although the *National Aſſembly* of France *declared in the preſence of the Supreme Being* that every citizen had an *equal* right to determine, either by himſelf or by his repreſentative, whatever related to the adminiſtration of the Government under which he lived; yet by a decree paſſed not four months after this ſolemn reſolution, they reſtrained this right to about *five million* individuals who could afford to pay half-a-crown a year for this their natural and imperſcriptible prerogative. Even theſe were admitted to no other ſhare in this their unalienable privilege, than that of electing *fifty thouſand* others, who paid to the State an annual contribution of eight or nine ſhillings, and who alone, out of *five and-twenty million* inhabitants, have any actual vote for the repreſentatives of this great multitude in the National Aſſembly. If Dr. *Towers* complains ſo bitterly that "*not one perſon in ten*" is in this country repreſented in Parliament;—what muſt his ideas be of this mock repreſentation which has been adopted in France, where every individual is decreed to have a right to it, and where *not one in five hundred* of its inhabitants has the leaſt connection with thoſe who are to act in his name in the legiſlative Aſſembly of the nation? And yet ſuch is the new ſyſtem of things that is held out to the applauſe, and propoſed to the imitation of Old England! The *conditions*, indeed, upon which men are there *permitted* to enjoy their *rights*, are moderate

moderate and eaſy; but the qualification is equally impotent and prepoſterous: and this *diſfranchiſement*, as a profeſſed apologiſt of the French Conſtitution has acknowledged, is of no other efficacy than "to the "diſplay of inconſiſtency, and the violation of juſtice." See *Vindiciæ Gallicæ*.

Beſides, what, after all, has election to do with taxation? Are not the *life* and *liberty* of the poor, who cannot contribute to the charges of the State, as dear to them, and as valuable in the eyes of reaſon, as the property of the wealthy? And is not the ſecurity of theſe equally the concern and duty of civil government? Beſides, in reality, all *repreſentation* whatever is an infringement of the *rights* of individuals, or, at leaſt, a heavy draw back upon perfect freedom; and can only be admitted, whatever be its form, or however limited or extenſive, upon reaſons of propriety and moral competence. This is an unanſwerable proof that a line muſt eſſentially be ſomewhere drawn—that upon the ſituation of this line mere number is not to be conſulted—that it is upon the general acceptance only, and not upon the detail of a *Conſtitution* that the many are fitted to determine—and that the pretended claim of all mankind without diſtinction to certain rights which they can never exerciſe but to the deſtruction of all civil policy, is a mere fictitious pretence, a gloſſy but unſubſtantial covering, fit only to conceal or palliate the repinings of diſappointed patriots, or the reſtleſs agitations of a factious and intriguing ſpirit, which ſeeks *per fas et nefas* the ſucceſs of its own viſionary ſchemes, though its country were like to periſh in the ſtorm which it had endeavoured to excite. See "Declaration of the Rights "of Men," Aug. 26, 1789—The Decrees paſſed on the 22d of December following—Dr. Tower's "Ap-"pendix" in reply to Mr. Burke—"Vindiciæ Gallicæ," p. 244—"Paine," p. 49, 146, &c.

No leſs leſs abſurd than this is alſo the conduct of ſome who ſeem deſirous of new modelling the Conſti-

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tution of *this* country, and who, in direct violation of our acknowledged *right of choice*, will neither ſuffer us to adopt hereditary ſucceſſion to the Crown, the law of primogeniture with regard to private property, nor any other political inſtitution which happens not to accord with their wild and chimerical ſpeculations. The following conſiderations upon thoſe againſt which their cenſures have chiefly been directed, will, it is hoped, at once point out the inconſiſtencies of theſe pretended reformers, and juſtify in both caſes the eſtabliſhed mode of *inheritance*.

Hereditary ſucceſſion by no means implies any *indefeaſible* right to the Throne; but is in fact no more than a regular method of tranſmitting the ſupreme executive power of the nation, according, to the will and wiſhes of a prudent and enlightened people. The beſt contrivances of human wiſdom may not always be ſucceſsful. Whether of the Monarchical, Ariſtocratical, or Republican caſt, they may in their operations commit the deareſt intereſts of a nation to the guidance of ambitious, intereſted, or unprincipled men. And were they even intruſted "to the wiſdom of an ideot," yet where there is ſufficient counterbalance in the other parts of the Conſtitution to prevent his doing any eſſential miſchief, the "contrivance" would likely be leſs injurious to the happineſs of mankind, than if it was expoſed to the complicated miſeries attending an elective form of monarchical Government; or intruſted to a multitude of legiſlators, who from a variety of jarring views and intereſts will ever be obſtructing each other, and where there cannot be any effectual check provided to prevent the ill effects of jealouſy and diſcord. Experience ſhews, ſays Dr. *Prieſtley*, (for the *greateſt* Doctors will ſometimes differ) that the higheſt office in a State ought to be hereditary, as "elective monarchies have been "the theatre of cabal, confuſion, and miſery" *Firſt Prin. of Gov.* p. 18.

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The inconveniences attending an hereditary crown were not unforeſeen; but it was adopted as the leaſt exceptionable, amongſt a variety of ſchemes ſtill more imperfect. And as it had been approved of after it had received the ſanction of long *experience*—far more to be depended on than the moſt plauſible of *theories*; ſo alſo has it been confirmed by repeated acts of the legiſlative power. Hence, although our Supreme Magiſtrate enjoys this place of high pre-eminence by an hereditary deſcendible *right*, he is not *leſs* the object of the people's *choice*; nor do they *leſs* live under a government of their own election, than the firſt generation did, by whom it was adopted: and this not by *acquieſcence* only, but by actual and free conſent. For at the coronation of each ſucceeding monarch, the *legal*, though not the *divine undefeaſable* right is recognized, and the ſocial compact moſt publicly received, as one of the chiefeſt cauſes, and the moſt ſteady ſupport of the happineſs which the nation enjoys. Still, nevertheleſs, is it equally true, that while the preſent Conſtitution ſubſiſts unrepealed, no individuals who are not *the nation*, of whatever rank or however numerous they be, have even collectively a vote for a new King. From the principles laid down by Mr. *Burke* on this ſubject, principles the moſt uncontrovertible and juſt, Mr. *Paine* has thought proper to draw the moſt abſurd concluſions. Seldom indeed is there any real connection between his *inferences* and the premiſes laid down by his opponent; but confidence and declamation are ſubſtituted in his almoſt every page in lieu of argument, truth, and reaſon. To this it certainly is owing that the Public, which, on the firſt appearance of the "Rights of Man," were ſtruck by the gaudy dreſs with which theſe pompous nothings were ſent forth, was quickly ſenſible of the deception; and upon a cloſer acquaintance with the work, have held both the author and his impudent Philippic in equal contempt. See *Paine*, p. 15, 135, 129, &c.

With reſpect to the law of *primogeniture*, on which alſo Mr. *Paine* has attempted to be "wondrous witty,"

the ſentiments of mankind ſeem greatly divided; and much may be advanced on either ſide with ſome degree of plauſibility. Whatever he has aſſerted on this ſubject is equally devoid of argument and truth. To make up for theſe deficiencies, he may poſſibly think it replete with *humour*; but on this occaſion, as on many others, he has miſtaken *pertneſs* for wit, and only expoſed the weakneſs of the cauſe he has attempted to ſupport. "By marriage children are *not* heirs" to all which their parents poſſeſs; nor are the younger ones nurſed up in the idea of enjoying an *equal* ſhare with the elder. The law of "primogeniture-ſhip" is a law of ſociety. By *nature* children have a claim upon their parents for protection, maintenance, and ſupport; but beyond this proviſion they have no other *demand*: and upon the principle of *liberty*, each man's property ſhould be at his own diſpoſal, ſubject to ſuch regulations only as the laws of ſociety point out. Hence, ſtrictly ſpeaking, a *ſecond* ſon has no more *right* to his father's fortune than an utter ſtranger. Neither is it true that the younger children of opulent families either conſider themſelves, or are conſidered by others, in the light of *outcaſts* or *beggars*. They value themſelves frequently for their birth. The ſplendor of the elder branch becomes their boaſt; and their connection with a family which has long been ſupported in dignity and opulence has often been the means of preſerving them from ſuch a conduct in life as might reflect a diſcredit on it. Beſides, we ſee that where the elder ſon is thus favoured by the law, the younger frequently ſucceed better than where there is an equal diviſion. It is a ſpur to induſtry, and active exertion. And it cannot be denied but that it is to theſe devoted *baſtards*, *beggars*, and *orphans*, as Mr. *Paine* has politely termed them, that ſociety is chiefly indebted for the flouriſhing ſtate of its manufactures and commerce, as well as moſt of the uſeful diſcoveries that have been made in the ſciences and arts. Were this law to be wholly ſet aſide (though it might perhaps be advantageouſly modelled otherwiſe than it now is) ſociety would be materially injured in a variety of inſtances:

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for if eſtates, whether poſſeſſed by inheritance or accumulated by induſtry, were always to be parcelled out into a multitude of minute ſubdiviſions, they would gradually dwindle away to nothing. The ſtately buildings, the parks, canals, and gardens, which afford employment to ſo many hands, and are ſuch an ornament to the face of the country, would fall to ruin, when the means either of repairing or replacing them were taken away. Neither would the opulent ever be induced to form any of thoſe grand collections to which the arts and ſciences are ſo much indebted, if they were likely at their deaths to be diſperſed or ſold, for want of a ſufficient income to enable thoſe to whoſe lot they ſhould fall, to ſpare and to ſupport them. Thus alſo many of the ornamental arts would be neglected for want of encouragement: induſtry and the ſpirit of invention would grow languid and die away: and from this injudicious reſtraint upon luxuries, both innocent and uſeful, the nation would, in many reſpects, be a real a ſufferer. See "*Rights of Man*," p. 73.

Unfortunately for Mr. *Paine*'s panegyric on the French revolution, that "illuminated" people has ſtill retained moſt of thoſe political inſtitutions which he has pronounced ſo completely ridiculous and abuſive: for they have decreed that France is a monarchical State, and that the crown ſhall ſtill be hereditary in the order of primogeniture. They have alſo ſtill retained a *religion eſtabliſhed by law*, which alone "is placed by it in the "firſt claſs of public expences." For this they have thought a national and legal proviſion an indiſpenſable requiſite; and therefore *all* without exception contribute to it. And whether this is done by *taxes* or by *tythes* is immaterial to the ſubſtance of the queſtion. See *Paine*, p. 80, and the ſeveral decrees of the National Aſſembly.

136. * As it was the declared purpoſe of the French Aſſembly to which this prediction naturally directs our attention, to return to a ſtate of nature—and in deſpite of prejudice and cuſtom, however ancient, to ſet out afreſh from the very elements of man, iſſuing from his

Maker's hands; they ſhould certainly have admitted *women* alſo to an equal ſhare both of election and of government. By what arguments of ſophiſtry can theſe be amenable in *France*, to any laws in the formation of which they no ways have concurred? They are not by nature formed perhaps for the more laborious taſks of life; but both in talents and in virtues of every ſpecies would be likely found in no degree inferior to the other ſex, if their education were equally ſuited to improve them—and if the modern habits of life were not all calculated as much to pervert their underſtandings, as they certainly are to corrupt their hearts. Society, indeed, has judged it in almoſt every age and nation more conformable to reaſon and the fitneſs of things, that they ſhould be wholly excluded from interfering in the adminiſtration of public affairs. Yet their natural rights muſt ſtill remain the ſame, and are doubtleſs as *unalienable* as ours. Either then we muſt admit that the different arrangements in the ſocial world are ſubject to ſome other rule than the mere claim of equal rights; or it is full time that this moſt amiable, as well as deſerving part of the creation, ſhould be completely reinſtated in their juſt and natural prerogatives, of which they have for ages been ſo tyrannically deprived.

137. *That men are all born equal in any reſpect is palpably untrue, and every perſon who ſoars no higher than *common* ſenſe muſt evidently ſee that from their birth they differ from each other in figure, beauty, ſtature, health, underſtanding, and even *ſtrength*;—a diſtinction which, prior to the inſtitutions of ſocial life, muſt, of all others, have created the greateſt *inequality* between them, from their inability to protect whatever right we may conceive them to be poſſeſſed of. And ſince men when they "came from their Creator's hands" were all *unequally* portioned, it alſo ſeems but natural to ſuppoſe that they were originally deſtined to remain ſo; unleſs by their exertions they raiſed themſelves to an higher degree in the general ſcale; and from the proper uſe both of their corporal and mental faculties, endeavoured

voured to attain to the wiſe and benevolent purpoſes for which they were placed in a ſtate of perfectibility and trial. Hence likewiſe it may be fairly preſumed, that each was to be *provided for* through life, and occupy a different ſtation, according as this was pointed out by his different virtues, acquiſitions, talents, and other ſeemingly adventitious circumſtances—or according to the wiſhes, exigencies, laws, or even prejudices, of that particular ſociety of which he was deſtined to be a member.

This, doubtleſs, is infinitely more comformable to the general ways of Providence in the government both of the natural and moral world, than any theoretic ſyſtem of pretended equal right, no leſs repugnant to the nature, than to the deſtination of man; whom it is impoſſible to conceive in any other light than as an accountable and ſocial being. For if we give credit to the only hiſtory we have of his origin on earth, we muſt conceive him to have originally exiſted ſuch as this hiſtory deſcribes him; that is, from the very moment of his creation, under the influence of a divine revelation, both as to his moral conduct and future deſtiny—and conſequently, not as that phantaſtic and inſulated creature that modern dreamers have thought fit to repreſent him, ſubject to no control, and guided by no other law than the wants and ſelfiſh purſuits of his mere animal nature. "Rights of Men," p. 50, &c.

138. * The abſurdities which would follow, were the chimera of *equal rights* purſued through all its conſequences, have been expoſed with much humour in a ſmall pamphlet lately publiſhed under the title of "A Letter from an Eminent Legal Character to the Whigs of the Capital."—*Debrett.* Indeed the doctrines which for ſome years paſt we have ſeen ſo ſtudiouſly circulated without any qualification or comment, in this and a neighbouring country, are

are no leſs replete with miſchief than with folly. Were the maxims laid down by Mr. *Paine* alone, admitted in all that latitude which the illiterate and the abandoned will naturally incline to give them, ſociety would immediately become a ſcene of riot and confuſion. The ſtatute law of this kingdom would be no longer binding: for why ſhould the *living* be controlled "by the manuſcript authority of the dead *in any ſhape whatever?*"—The obligation of paying off the intereſt of the national debt would directly ceaſe; for "what poſſible obligation can exiſt" between *thoſe who have ceaſed to be*, and the preſent generation? The duties of morality would no longer influence men's conduct—no longer reſtrain either the tyrannical invaders of their neighbour's property, nor even arreſt the bloody hand of the aſſaſſin: for what moral laws can juſtly claim the obedience of thoſe who never concurred either directly or indirectly in their making? &c. &c. &c. See "Rights of Men," p. 11—15. Quis talia fando temperet a lachrymis! "Les ideés générales et abſtraites," *ſays Rouſſeau*, "ſont la ſource des plus grands erreurs des hommes. Jamais le jargon de la metaphyſique n'á fait decouvrir une ſeule verité." And yet it is this miſerable *jargon* that has kindled up the fire of contention over all Europe, and which is become the *ton* of theſe enlightened days!

139. * "Men, ſays the *Declaration of Rights*, always continue equal in reſpect of their rights; and one of theſe rights is property." The words of this decree, which, according to Mr. Paine, are thrown out in ſuch *a blaze of light*, are ſo equivocal and obſcure, that the people will certainly explain them in this ſenſe: for it is undoubtedly their *obvious*, though poſſibly not their *intended*, meaning. And in ſuch a conviction it will be difficult to convince them that Parchment deeds and muſty rolls can ever equitably deprive him of that which he has been taught to conſider as his birth-

birthright. Two hundred and fifty ſeats of ancient and reſpectable families already demoliſhed by a lawleſs rabble—their property laid waſte—their charters ſeized and burnt—their perſons treated with more than ſavage cruelty; moſt evidently point out in what manner theſe "illuminating" declarations are likely to be interpreted, whenever the populace is inclined to make a practical comment upon them. *Paine.* 117. *Memoire du Comte Lally, de Tollendal,* 105, and the Preſent State of Anarchy in which the nation is involved.

140, &c. * See "Rights of Men." Mr. *Paine's* repreſentation of facts is generally ſo unfair, his reaſonings ſo abſurd, and his language ſo extremely equivocal, that to uſe his own elegant expreſſion, he really ſeems in every page to "act perſuaſion on himſelf to ſuffocate his judgement." See p. 144.

A doctrine ſimilar to that on which the French *Peaſant* acted, has lately been imported even into this happy country. "The only ſecurity of property," ſays *Mrs. Wollſtonecraft,* in her "*Vindication of the Rights of Men,*" that nature authoriſes, and reaſon ſanctions, is the right a man has to enjoy the acquiſitions his talents or induſtry have acquired." Whenever ſuch principles as theſe are circulated and encouraged, it is time for every man of property in the kingdom to tremble for what he poſſeſſes. For the leſſon which is here moſt explicitly taught is, that *the far greater part of the landed property of this country is held by no one title that is founded either on equity or common ſenſe.* The conſequence of ſuch a perſuaſion, were it once to gain ground, is too obvious to point out. On ſome future occaſion poſſibly the French peaſantry may take advantage of the hint that is here thus kindly held out to them, and make it their rule of conduct whenever it may ſeem good to them to ſet about a new "regeneration" of their country.

141. * The

143. * The good Hermit, as appears from this, certainly did not underſtand the word *metaphyſical*, in the ſame ſenſe in which it has been explained by *Dr. Prieſtley*. A *Layman*, who has lately publiſhed a very gentleman-like reply to this egregious quibbler, has very properly obſerved that *metaphyſical* philoſophy is often oppoſed to *natural* and *experimental*; the firſt implying a *ſpeculative*, the laſt a *practical* truth". See Dr. Prieſtley's "Letters to Mr. Burke," p. 25. And alſo an "Anſwer" to them by a *Layman* of the eſtabiſhed Church, printed for *Rivington*.

145. * The attempts to teach the populace "the principles of civil government" were ſurely little leſs abſurd, than was that of the Academicians of *Lagado*, deſcribed by Swift, who were endeavouring to extract ſun-beams out of cucumbers, and to calcine ice to gun-powder. See "Rights of Man." p. 106; and "Gulliver's Travels to Laputa." The ingenious method which this laſt-mentioned writer ſlightly hints at in the ſame place, of "building houſes downwards from the roofs to the foundations," has certainly been lately attempted to be revived. For all Europe has been witneſs to a very conſiderable undertaking abroad, which was moſt evidently *begun at the wrong end*.

146. * How literally this prediction was accompliſhed may be ſeen in ſeveral of the beſt authenticated accounts that have appeared of the French Revolution.

148, &c. * "Rights of Man" p. 61.

150 * See the writings of moſt of thoſe abettors of Revolution principles who have publiſhed *ſomething* about Mr. Burke's "Reflections;" thoſe more eſpecially, who have been moſt laviſh in their encomiums upon "Mr. *Paine's* Satire on the *real* Rights of Mankind."

151 * See the note upon the Article 126.

152. * See

152. * See " what is called " *The Rights of Man*, p. 51, 55, and in ſeveral other places. Many inſtances of this kind of " liberality " occur in ſome late publications where it might leaſt be expected. See " Vindiciæ Gallicæ, p. 156; Mrs. Wollſtonecraft's " Vindication," p. 115; Dr. Prieſtley's " Letters," p. 68, 72, 77, 86, &c. And yet theſe very people are inceſſantly complaining of obloquy, defamation, calumny, and want of candour. Thoſe who have reflected ſo ſeverely on the moral conduct of the French clergy, muſt either be extremely ignorant, or actuated by a ſpirit of perſecution and intolerance. And it is truly ridiculous to ſee theſe aſſerters of *liberty* and the *rights of men*, inceſſantly reſorting to all the petty arts which bigotry can ſuggeſt, to reflect an odium upon characters, which are in general moſt truly deſerving of their reſpect.

153. * To be ſure *Katerfelto* with his *black cat* and all his *wondrous wonders* never dared to boaſt of ſuch curious diſcoveries as have been made by ſome of our late Religio-political coblers. *One of them* after many years cloſe application to the *occult* ſciences has *demonſtrated* to the Birmingham manufacturers, as a truth not known before, that there are not three Gods. He has proved by *irreſiſtible* argument, that man has no ſoul—that he is not a free agent—that Chriſt was naturally a ſinner no leſs than himſelf; ſubject to ignorance, error, prejudice, and puſillanimity. And Mr. *Paine* has informed mankind that there is an immenſe diſtance between two *non-entities*, one of which is *out* of exiſtence, and the other *not in*—that theſe two *non-entities* can never meet in *this* world—that a *King* is a *thing*; a *Crown* a *metaphor*; and *Monarchy* a *ſinecure*—that the Church is a ſort of *mule animal* that ſoon kicks out its mother—that ariſtocracy had never more than *one* child, *five* of whom it expoſes; &c. &c. &c. together with a variety of other uſeful and ſtriking truths which have met with the unanimous approbation of the " Society for Revolutions."

154. * See the ſeveral writings of *Prieſtley*, *Paine*, and

 Price,

Price, and the endleſs liſt of pamphlets publiſhed in France, relative to the affairs of the Revolution.

A right to deſtroy whatever is the creature of their own choice, ſeems now a favourite claim: but it ſurely is a claim of the moſt pernicious nature. Men unite together in virtue of a mutual *contract* with each other. But for the obſervance of this contract, and the moral obligations it impoſes, they muſt look to an higher authority than merely their own agreement. They are at liberty to chuſe what form of government they pleaſe; but they are not on that account at liberty to reſcind their contract out of mere wantonneſs and caprice, as often as the fancy ſtrikes them. If they appoint a King to be the guardian of their mutual rights, as well as to watch over the execution of the laws, they are bound both to *fear* and *honour* him, as well as to *obey*. For although the authority he poſſeſſes is held by their conſent, and in truſt for them, he then is rather to be conſidered as the *miniſter of God*, than as the *creature of the people*. 1 Peter ii. Rom. xiii. Prov. xxiv.

Dr. *Prieſtley* has inſinuated in his "letter to Mr. Burke" that the peace of ſociety may be preſerved "without calling in the aid of religion." This is a new diſcovery: as it has hitherto been found extremely difficult to preſerve it by the united aſſiſtance of religion, reaſon, and coercive ſtatutes. This reverend gentleman's acknowleged abilities, wild theories, and paradoxical aſſertions, will naturally remind the reader of thoſe lines of *Pope*, in which his character appears ſo juſtly delineated:

"Sole judge of truth; in endleſs error hurled!
"The glory, jeſt, and riddle of the world!"

In all the peſtilential and mephitic gaſes upon which this *Seeker* has exerciſed his chemical ingenuity, there is not one principle half ſo deſtructive and pernicious as thoſe which are circulated in his political and religious lucubrations. And yet ſo great is his mental blindneſs and fanaticiſm, that he ſits down quietly and wipes his mouth,

mouth, and ſays "I have done no harm"—Heaven grant that his ſincerty may in ſome degree atone for the infinite miſchiefs he has done! Let him however be reminded that *there is a way which ſeemeth right unto man, and yet the end thereof leadeth unto death.*

155. * The firſt part of this aſſertion relating to *peace*, is eaſily confuted by the hiſtory of all the ancient republics: and it therefore may be pronounced as contrary to *fact* as it is to *theory*. Mr. Paine has indeed chiefly attempted to ſupport that paradox with reſpect to *happineſs* by a reference to America, where the inhabitants, he aſſures us, enjoy a ſtate of opulence and plenty, unknown in Europe. All this may poſſibly be true; and yet is little to his purpoſe. Where the great body of the State are landholders, living upon their own freehold premiſes, it is natural that men ſhould enjoy a fuller ſhare of the good things of the earth. But it is abſurd to compare together an *agricultural* with a *commercial* nation; a ſtate comparatively but lately ſettled, with the *ancient* eſtabliſhments of Europe. The United States of America are ſuppoſed to contain about 4,000,000 inhabitants in an extent of more than 900,000 ſquare miles of territory; whereas England, for example, has between five and ſix millions on an extent of 39,000 ſquare miles only: that is half as many more inhabitants, with about the three-and-twentieth part of territory to ſupport them. Hence in America there are not *four* inhabitants to each ſquare mile, and in England more than *one hundred and fifty*.

The mixt government that this country has long ſo happily enjoyed is repreſented in the "*Rights of Man*" as neceſſarily *a ſyſtem of ſtrife and intrigue*; for ever aiming at a ſtate of war, that curſe of nations, and the opprobrium of human reaſon. All this is rant and falſehood. England has been, unfortunately, involved in many wars—but they have been moſtly owing to the ambitious intrigues of her neighbours, to whom her proſperity and peace have ever been the objects of an envious and malicious grudge.

156. * It is clear from this, as well as ſeveral other paſſages in the writings of St. Paul, that our *modern* apoſtles differ very eſſentially in their ſentiments from this reſpectable aſſerter of genuine liberty. But as ſome of them have pronounced him to be but "an inconcluſive reaſoner," they are probably unwilling to abide by his deciſions.

158 * Mr. *Paine* has accuſed Mr. *Burke* of "abominable depravity"—of the language of an "*un*rationable" man—and of an unfeeling heart; becauſe he ſaid that ten years ago "he could have felicitated France on her having a Government, without enquiring what the nature of that Government was." Now the fact is, that Mr. *Burke* had ſaid preciſely the reverſe; and aſſerted that he could not have done this "in common ſenſe."—This is what Mr. *Paine* conceives to be *confuting* his opponent! See alſo the charges brought againſt Mr. *Burke* by Mr. *Chriſtie* in his "Letters on the Revolution" p. 23 & 28, which are equally unfounded.

159. * See *Paine's Preface*, and contraſt it with his conduct during the American war, when he contributed every thing in his power by his turbulent and inflammatory libels, to keep up a ſpirit of animoſity againſt his mother country. He is ſaid to be the author of the "Criſis"—a work alone ſufficient to cover his name with infamy. His office in America is now expired. But as France has been of late the ſcene of tumult, he has ſought for refuge there, when he felt that he was entitled to far other treatment in his native country. There too he ſtill reſides, that he may not loſe the chance of being again employed upon ſome errand ſimilar to that on which he went to America—an office congenial to his ſentiments and talents.

160. * More or leſs of this inconſiſtency is evident in the conduct of all thoſe who have attacked Mr. *Burke's* juſtly admired Reflections. And it is extremely difficult to credit thoſe men who have ſo much applauded the proceedings of the French Aſſembly, and have thrown out

ſo

ſo many bitter complaints, invectives, and ſarcaſms againſt their own country, can have any cordial attachment to it.

Rixantur *equidem* de lana ſœpe caprina.

162. * If this has any reſpect to *Great Britain*, we may hope that their ſucceſs will be that of the ſong,

" All their attempts to pull thee down
" Shall but arouſe thy generous flame,
" But work *their* fall, and thy renown."

When a ſet of *projectors*, in hopes of diſcovering the Philoſopher's Stone, *Fortunatus*'s Wiſhing Cap; or in purſuit of any other object equally ridiculous, chooſe to run the riſk of their own property or happineſs, they may poſſibly have ſome excuſe to plead. But when they attempt to involve a whole nation in complicated wretchedneſs and woe, to rob it of its religion and its government, of its peace and comforts, merely to advance their own ambitious or ſelfiſh ends, they juſtly deſerve the contempt and execration of mankind.

161. * See *Paine*'s ridiculous definition of a *Conſtitution*, p. 56 & 147 of *his* " Rights of Men." He aſſerts that the very *faſhion* of uſing the term " Conſtitution" was catched by the Engliſh Parliament from the French Aſſembly. It is " devoutly to be wiſhed" that the *faſhion* of adopting the practical inferences which flow from this doctrine will never be " catched" by any in this country, who have a grain either of ſenſe, or feeling, or religion, or even of ſelf-love. For if we have no Conſtitution, " nor ever had," then we have no *legal* Government—our whole code of laws is nothing but a tyrannical uſurpation of our *rights*, and an unjuſtifiable infringement of our *freedom*—our property, whether derived from inheritance, or acquired by induſtry, is held by no other title than *poſſeſſion*, &c. &c. " How very comfortable, *to expreſs myſelf in the elegant words lately made uſe of in a Methodiſtical pulpit*, muſt ſuch news as this prove to the Raggamuffins of the Middle Iſle."

163. * This

163. * This is the apology by which many of the admirers of the "*Thing* that can be produced in a visible form, the body of elements which you can quote Article by Article," have attempted to soften the rigours of the present unhappy state of our neighbours on the Continent. It is the consolation which every *learned* apothecary makes to his patient when he administers his nauseous draught:

Dulcia non meruit qui non gustavit amara.

Seldom, however, does he succeed to make either his poetry or his mixture cordially relished!

164. * See "Rights of man," p. 71 and 50. In this last quoted page, he asserts that "duty to Magistrates, reverence to Priests, and the fear of God," are three turnpike gates which throw man back to a vast distance from his Maker. *O lepidum caput!*

Not having at hand the Vocabulary of Adam, from which the author of "The Rights of Man" attempts to prove what he calls "the folly of titles," I cannot precisely ascertain what "animals" were included in it; but I should quite as soon expect to find the names of *Duke* or *Count*, as that of "Secretary for Foreign Affairs to Congress." The ideas originally connected with the titles of Duke or Count, without any application to "the powers of fancy," but from the very derivation of the words, were those of *command* and *trust*; for they were either the leaders of armies, or the officers and attendants of the prince. And if they are not always what this title expresses, so neither are Judges always *grave*, nor Generals *courageous*. Besides, in England at least, nobility implies a real office, as our Peers are hereditary Counsellors of the Crown—in all causes the last resort, from whose judgement no further appeal is permitted; because the law has judged fit to repose an entire confidence in the honour and conscience of a set of men who from their birth, education, and a variety of happy prejudices with which they are surrounded, are always as

as a body, jealous of their character for integrity, and a ſtrict regard to thoſe duties which their high office impoſes. In every well regulated State diſtinctions of rank and honour are extremely neceſſary in order to reward without any burden to the community, ſuch families as have rendered eſſential ſervices to it. It is a ſpirit of emulation that gives vigour to ſociety; and it is by ſuch diſtinctions that this emulation is kept up. And in Governments of a mixt kind, a body of nobility is peculiarly neceſſary; as forming a barrier againſt the encroachments either of King or People upon each other's juſt prerogatives. It is, as Mr. *Burke* has obſerved of *Chivalry*, an "unbought *ornament* and grace of life;" and has often proved the "cheap defence of nations." On the natural inequality and ſubordination of men in ſociety, there are many excellent remarks in Dr. *Tatham*'s "Letters to Mr. *Burke*," p. 29, and following.

165. * See *Paine*, p. 48. "Scotland," *ſays one of Mr. Burke's anſwerers*, "knows nothing of Archbiſhops and Biſhops, and bleſs their ſtars that they are not like aſſes, loaded with ſuch inhuman burdens." "Religion," adds the ſame writer, "may flouriſh without Prieſts, at leaſt as well as with them:" and this he proves from the example of the Mahometans, who, he aſſures us, have not "ſo much as a ſingle prieſt to exhort or incite them."——*Strictures*, printed for Gardner, p. 49, and 137. This gentleman, although he acknowledges (p. 169) that he knows but little either of men or books, has at leaſt the honeſty to ſpeak out. Dr. *Prieſtley* had before, with his uſual *liberality*, characteriſed all Biſhops as the moſt "jealous, timorous, and vindictive of men." Little elſe, however, than ſuch a panegyric was to be expected from a man who had already ſpoken in ſo degrading a manner of the *Prophets*, *Apoſtles*, and even of *Chriſt* himſelf. See "Letter to Mr. Pitt;" and "Theol. Repoſ." *Paſſim*.

166. * What the latter part of this prediction implies, may not perhaps be very eaſy to decypher, though it has,

totidem

totidem verbis, been adopted by Mr. *Paine*. The former part applies to ſo many circumſtances which have lately happened both in France and England, that it would be endleſs to ſpecify them all. Indeed inconſiſtency ſeems to be an epidemical diſeaſe which has ſo generally prevailed amongſt the Revolutioniſts, both in their conduct and their writings, that a *few* examples of it may ſuffice; as a variety of others will naturally preſent themſelves to the attentive obſerver. Thus Mrs. Wollſtonecraft aſſures us, that ſhe "believes Mr. Burke to be a good man, and of an amiable texture of mind." And yet in the ſame work ſhe repeatedly accuſes him of religious hypocriſy—of ſyſtematic profaneneſs—of inſincerity—of contempt for the poor—of mockery, inſulting to God and man—of enjoying the wages of falſehood in a ſkulking unmanly way, &c. &c. &c. How accurate, and how "elaborately laboured" is this delineation of an amiable private character, and of a good and virtuous man! See the "Vindication of the Rights of man," p. 2, 3, & alibi. Mr. *Paine* likewiſe, although he had aſſerted that there is no *Conſtitution* in England, has nevertheleſs in the very ſame page condeſcended to point out the *Conſtitutional* method reforming its Government.

167. * This is fairly inferred from many of Mr. *Paine*'s poſitions. He is perpetually arguing from an ideal ſtate of nature which never did exiſt, and applying his inductions to a ſtate of ſociety. In a ſtate of nature, if any ſuch can by way of argument be ſuppoſed, man has neither right nor property. Power and poſſeſſion he might lay claim to; but right and property are the creatures of the ſocial compact. Where there is no law, there can exiſt no liberty; for liberty is there moſt perfect, where licentiouſneſs meets with the moſt effectual reſtraints—and where there is no ſociety, there can exiſt no law. "The very idea of property or right of any kind," *ſays Dr. Prieſtley*, "is founded upon a regard to the general good of ſociety, under whoſe protection it is enjoyed." — *Firſt Prin. of Government.* Rouſſeau likewiſe very juſtly obſerves, that the eſſential clauſe of the ſocial compact is "the total alienation

alienation of every individual, with all his rights and privileges, to the whole community—a giving himself up entirely and without reſerve."—*Social Compact.* ch. 6.

The ideas of *Rouſſeau* on this ſubject are ſurely moſt eſſentially different from thoſe of the author of the "Vindiciæ Gallicæ," who nevertheleſs has attempted to ſupport them by his authority. Where a "total alienation" takes place, and no individual has a right to "reclaim" any thing which the "general will" thinks proper to refuſe him, as *Rouſſeau* expreſsly aſſerts, we ſurely can retain no claim of "any appeal to natural right," nor any "portion" whatever of that which for the public good was ſo entirely reſigned. Otherwiſe, as the ſame Author moſt juſtly adds, "the ſtate of nature would ſtill ſubſiſt, and their aſſociation would neceſſarily become tyrannical and void." In the ſocial compact, ſays Mr. *Paine*, each individual is "a proprietor, and draws on the capital as a matter of right." However, his draughts will certainly not be anſwered in proportion to the depoſit of his *natural*, but the acquired ſum of his *ſocial* rights, the only rights, in fact, which can with any propriety be ſuppoſed to have ever had any actual being; as the exiſtence of ſome degree of union for the ſake of public protection may "be demonſtrated to be coæval and coextended with man." See *Vind. Gall.* p. 206, and following—the "Rights of Men," p. 52 and 53—*Rouſſeau's* Social Compact. liv. 1, ch. 6.—Dr. *Prieſtley's* "Firſt Prin. of Gov. p. 9—and Dr. *Tatham's* "Letters on the Revolution."

Both the theory and practice of the *rights* of the people to cauſe a Revolution, Mr. *Paine* is on every occaſion, proud to derive from America. If the unfortunate *Gatimozin*, whilſt broiling on the gridiron by the command of the cruel *Cortez*, could have foreſeen that from America there would one day go forth a ſpirit of licentiouſneſs and independence which would accompliſh the overthrow of *one* European State, and at leaſt endanger *others*, by ſapping the foundations upon which all Government is

 erected,

erected, it might have proved ſome alleviation to his ſufferings.

168. * This evidently alludes to the preſent unfortunate ſituation of a neighbouring country, and to the profeſſions of their patriotic "Regenerators." But every other European State has already ſome cauſe to be convinced how deeply it is indebted to theſe "Reformers of mankind" for their glorious exertions.

169. * See *Prieſtley's* writings, throughout. *Socinianiſm* is his *idol*. And his *cornet*, and his *harp*, and his *ſackbut*, and his *dulcimer*, and his *pſaltery*, and his *flute*, like thoſe of *Nebuchadnezzar*, are inceſſantly *piping* and *ſtrumming* to cite all peoples, and nations, and languages, to adore the *image* that he has ſet up.

170. * Upon this, as well as ſeveral other predictions which follow, the Editor would wiſh to hazard very few conjectures or obſervations. For although they appear to him moſt evidently to refer to ſome tranſactions that have lately paſſed in this country; yet as this may appear leſs certain to others, "Unuſquiſque in ſuo ſenſu abundet." Conjectures which may even *ſeem* to reflect upon a reſpectable and loyal body of men, where they clearly could apply only to ſome individuals amongſt them, would juſtly be deemed improper. Facies non omnibus una.....

171, 172, 174, 176. * Theſe articles of the prediction have been ſuppoſed to point out the great ſtir that was made ſome time ſince in this country, upon an application addreſſed to Parliament for a repeal of the Teſt Act. The Editor acknowledges that he does not ſee what great diſadvantages could have ariſen from the abrogation of this ſtatute. But to pretend a *right* to have it reſcinded; to call the refuſal which the nation made to accede to their demands an "act of tyranny and oppreſſion," or to involve *religious* conſiderations in the queſtion, were ſo many abſurdities which nothing but ignorance, or ſophiſtry, or blind enthuſiaſm could countenance in the leaſt

leaſt degree. Had the petition been preſented in leſs turbulent times; had it been urged with leſs intemperate petulance and clamour; had ſome of the leaders of the *aggrieved parties* been leſs inſolent in their writings, and leſs mutinous in their conduct, the nation might poſſibly have acceded to their requeſt. But to have granted a repeal under the circumſtances in which it was *demanded*, would have been to admit the nugatory and fictitious title that they preſented to ſupport their claim. It would have been an *injuſtice* done to the "majority" of the nation, which was certainly averſe to the meaſure—it would have ſupplied a moſt dangerous precedent to the turbulent demagogues of this country, which they would not fail to turn to advantage on future occaſions—and would, in every ſenſe, have been as injudicious and impolitic, as the ſeveral pleas upon which the *demand* was urged were frivolous and groundleſs.

173. * See a pamphlet entitled "A Look to the laſt Century," ſold by *White* and *Faulder*.

177. * Mr. *Paine's* Work teems in every page with ſpecimens of gentleman-like language ſimilar to this. If the curious reader will turn to pages 80, 139, 84, 125, 137, 64, 110, 138, 26, 106, 122, 140, 86, 138, 65, 132, 64, 83, 141, 130, of the Second Edition, or indeed to almoſt any other page of this "valuable and maſterly" publication, as the Society for Conſtitutional Information has termed it, he will meet with abundant gratification, if his ſtomach is ſufficiently ſtrong to bear without recoiling, ſuch nauſeous ſtuff.

Great part of this famous and "valuable" performance is written in a ſtile which bids defiance to common ſenſe and decency; and is moſtly as defective in point of truth and argument, as it is diſguſting in the form in which it is preſented.

178. * A lady who has thought proper to engage in the preſent political controverſy, has called the boaſted birth-

right of the Engliſh, "an arrogant pretenſion, built upon a beggarly foundation." It is now the *faſhion* to traduce the name of Engliſhmen, and connect it with the ideas of ſlavery and oppreſſion. Otherwiſe this lady muſt certainly have known that what the Engliſh claim as their birth-right has only been ſtiled emphatically *theirs*, becauſe they have ſo long enjoyed it from father to ſon through ſo many ſucceſſive generations, that it has been conſidered in ſome degree as their own peculiar inheritance—an inheritance which others, with a *title* equally valid, had yet to ſtruggle for; but which they poſſeſſed in the regular courſe of things. Nor is it at all the leſs *theirs* for being tranſmitted to them by thoſe who firſt reclaimed it from uſurpation.

Mr. *Paine*'s attempts to prove that the Engliſh have no Conſtitution, and that they are an unhappy and oppreſſed people, will probably remind the reader of "the true and impartial account of the proceedings of Iſaac Bickerſtaff, Eſq." againſt Dr. *Partridge* the Almanack maker, whoſe departure out of this life he perſiſted to aſſert, in defiance of all the evidence that the poor Aſtrologer could muſter up to confute him.

180. * If any part of the predictions of this foreign *Seer* relate in fact to the hitherto fortunate iſle of Great Britain, the Editor ſincerely hopes his countrymen will pay a particular regard to what is here foretold. He is convinced that their future welfare, their tranquillity and peace of mind, their privileges and freedom, the ſum of all they now enjoy and the ſecurity of whatever they poſſeſs, depend upon it. The *principles* upon which confuſion, anarchy, and wretchedneſs are moſt likely to be introduced, the *American Emiſſary* has fully detailed: the *practice* they have ſeen in France: But as they have ſeen the *conſequences* alſo; may they never afford their enemies the ſo much wiſhed for opportunity of giving them "any real exiſtence!" That the preſent ſyſtem of Government, either civil or eccleſiaſtical, is without defect, it would be abſurd to ſay; or that ſome amendments might not be

adopted

adopted with reſpect to each, which would greatly add to their perfection and ſtability. But to attempt alterations where there is already ſo much that is truly great and excellent, at a time when all around them is tumult and diſcord—when both foreign and domeſtic enemies are watching to ſubvert that Conſtitution, which has ſo long been their boaſt, would be the ſummit of infatuation. The Government that has been propoſed to *Britons* as a model for their imitation, and for the *untried* excellencies of which they are requeſted to give up their preſent Conſtitution, the labour of ages and the admiration of the univerſe, is in its principles ſubverſive of all property, and deſtructive of all rational freedom. The moſt that men can hope to attain in the preſent tranſitory ſtate of things, is *comparative* excellence, and *comparative* happineſs: and theſe we undoubtedly enjoy beyond any other nation under the ſun. Let then a few diſſatisfied and reſtleſs individuals complain, and murmur, and cabal: let them hazard their country's intereſts, to gratify their own repinings—or ſubmit ingloriouſly to become the tools of a deſigning and diſcontented party: let them magnify through the medium of prejudice each minute defect in our government and laws, and make the fields to "ring with their importunate chink;" ſtill it is hoped that the great body of the nation will exult in the happineſs it feels—cheriſh the Conſtitution from which this happineſs is derived—and be ever ready to ſupport it with hand and heart, againſt every attempt, either foreign or domeſtic. Unanimity, and ſteadineſs, and cool reſolve, were never more eſſential than at the preſent moment. Their laws, their liberty, their property are all at ſtake. Good and evil are now before them; and their future deſtiny depends upon the *choice* they make. What this will be cannot, however, remain a matter of uncertainty. The happy reſult of the ſteady and prudent conduct of Britain's generous ſons in the preſent trying circumſtances, will doubtleſs enſure that ſtability to their enjoyments—that ſolid baſis to the Conſtitution of this fortunate iſland, which the venerable Hermit has here predicted. And her childrens' children to the

moſt

moſt remote generation, ſhall ſtill with truth continue to addreſs her in thoſe well-known ſtrains,

" The nations not ſo bleſt as thee,
" Shall in their turns to tyrants fall,
" Whilſt thou ſhalt flouriſh great and free;
" The dread and envy of them all."

AMEN. AMEN.

THE END.

ERRATA.

P. 10	*for*	gibbetted	*read*	gibbeted
22	—	*Gallicia*	—	*Gallicæ*
ib.	—	*tranquility*	—	*tranquillity*
ib.	—	*government*	—	*governments*
25	—	*Revolution*	—	*Conſtitutional*
27	—	poſſeſs	—	retain
30	—	partial	—	particular
34	—	its	—	their
35	—	convis	—	corvis
41	—	*undefeaſable*	—	*indefeaſible*
ib.	—	received	—	renewed
ib.	—	with	—	in
46	—	him, he, his	—	them, they, theirs
52	—	credit	—	credit that
54	—	poetry	—	theory
ib.	—	he aſſerts	—	Mr. Paine aſſerts